3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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Teklum
[P.462-B]

their neighbors by establishing *compadrazgo*, or godparental, relations with them.

Ten of the 37 homicides here reported were committed by immediate consanguineal or affinal relatives of the victim. The high frequency of killings involving brothers or brothers-in-law (8 cases) suggests a locus of high tension in these relationships. Male siblings, the *yermanotak*, comprise the closest cooperating group. Cooperation between brothers is obligatory when wheat is to be threshed, a house built, or a roof rethatched. If a brother or brother-in-law is unavoidably absent, he must pay a substitute. Brothers, or sons and fathers, are the only relationship pairs who work the milpa in common and share the harvest. Bilateral inheritance, with equal division of land and house to both male and female offspring, means that brothers-in-law are potentially equivalent in the competition for goods as well as in their obligation to cooperate. A man kills his sister's husband if the husband is abusive to the woman or to members of the family (two cases). The brother figures not only as a lethal opponent, but also as the man who avenges one's own death (case 18, Table 1). When someone has been killed for witchcraft, his brothers are expected to accept the verdict or to avenge the killing.

[Text continues on p. 463-A]

241 [412] machete (*machit*) or the *luk*, a sort of curved machete with a long handle, are the implements needed. The cutting of the grass from the plot where the milpa had been the previous year is *selab*; the cutting of bush grown for three or four years is *sok-uej*. The work of cutting the bush is done by the entire family, including children of seven or eight years old.

[221] [412] The planting is done between April and May after the first rains, with a long stick whose tip is hardened by fire or protected by a metal point. The seed must [242] come from large, healthy ears whose tips have been cut off because they have small corn. The *olote*, or corncob, is either kept [824] or thrown away at a distance to avoid its being used as fuel, for this would hurt the milpa which then would produce ears with broken kernels.

241 462 785 834 The task of planting is a very delicate matter, to be performed after fasting and sexual abstinence. It is exclusively a man's affair. A great banquet is served at noon, 241 594 generally outdoors as the hut interiors are small, to the friends and neighbors who will participate as helpers. Sometimes as • [496] many as 10 men help to plant a friend's milpa. The meal is offered "precisely when the sun stops for a moment midway on its run and the doors of the Church of Heaven are opened, from where the quality of the banquet is observed." This is *s-ueltl-abal* ('meal of the planting').

241 262 272 574 [263] When things are properly done, the meal consists of a number of items. First the *atole* (*pajal-ul*) is served, which is slightly sour and sweetened with *panela*. As "companion" to this atole are tamales (*chenkul-uaj*), which are prepared with cornmeal and ground beans. It is said that both things are to be served together so that "the seed may penetrate deep into the ground."

241 252 262 594 272 After this preliminary snack comes what is considered the main course for each person: a hard-boiled egg in a thick reddish broth prepared from dough and ground chile dissolved in water; a large tortilla;

[P.199-B.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
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421 her own clothes and her backstrap loom.
586 A widow may continue living in the hut and use its equipment only if she has a son. Otherwise, she must leave the house and return to her father's home because the land will be claimed by the brothers or other male relatives of the deceased husband.

Production and Consumption Groups

592 The family controls all matters related
433 to production and consumption. The head
241 of the house, with the help of his wife and other members of the family, takes care of farming and producing the basic food crops.
462 In the most conservative communities, the
476 old custom of planting by a cooperative
241 group, composed of relatives and friends, is still practiced. This is a task for men exclusively, since much skill and strength are required to dig up the ground in carefully
[785] spaced, perfectly straight rows. The owner
[834] of the milpa has to fast and observe sexual abstinence before starting the planting.

462 Only the family shares in the rest of the
592 labor, according to their sex: men take care of tasks requiring much effort, women perform those such as tending domestic ani-
[476] mals. Help from relatives and neighbors may also be asked occasionally, to build up fences around the orchard, to open or improve irrigation systems, etc.

Trade and Markets

438 Tenango and Amatenango concentrate on producing ceramics and trading them to neighboring municipios. Other municipios have a very limited commercial activity: Tenejapa exports a few sleeping mats; Oxchuc, ropes, nets, and pita bags; Cancuc, wooden combs; Bachajon, clay toys. These Tzeltal villages have no specialized merchants as do Zinacantan and Chamula.

443 There are a few markets where a large number of people meet regularly: Teopisca, in the south, has a Sunday market where natives from Aguacatenango, Amatenango, and Pinola meet. In the central part of the region they meet every Sunday at the mar-

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121 A culture, under certain conditions, during a period of time can be said to be an open system in a state of stable but moving equilibrium: that is to say, it maintains a boundary, accepts inputs and produces outputs at approximately equal rates, and changes continuously but gradually in internal structure.

The concept of equilibrium is one way to talk about the constraints which make behavior congruent with beliefs. Given a constantly changing ecological setting due to an expanding population and a changing man-land ratio, the stability of the system depends on the adequacy of existing institutions to handle conflict and of shared understandings to explain events. Movement stems from the tension between individual and social goals and the adaptations to bring them into closer harmony. The basic condition for the kind of change characteristic of a moving equilibrium is that conflict is contained within the community.

128 I have organized the data to clarify features maintaining equilibrium and to show the direction in which the society is moving. First I describe formal, prescribed behavior for each institutional complex and relate it to the beliefs that underlie it. Following each of these chapters I analyze strategies formulated in response to changes coming from within or outside the community. The formal behavior providing a framework for continuity is related to place spirits in Chapter 1, to economic activities in Chapter 2, to customs and rituals in the family and neighborhood in Chapters 4 and 5, to civil and religious government in Chapters 7 and 8. Changing strategies are related to economic activities in Chapter 3, to social relations as revealed in curing practices in Chapter 6, and to political relations in Chapter 9.

177 178 [241] [323] Implicit in the organization is an ordering of institutions from most static to most dynamic. In the economy, agricultural technology has been stabilized at the colonial level of adaptation at which the wooden plow, hoe, and machete were added to, but did not displace, the digging stick, while in pottery manufacture, both techniques and products have remained unchanged. The organization of work groups remains limited to the household except for the introduction of cooperatives in recent years. In domestic institutions there has been an adaptation to living in a compact settlement with the emphasis on the bilateral kinship group.

[592] [476] [361]

242 *Soil characteristics.* The potential productivity of flat irrigated lands is evaluated on the basis of two criteria: color of the soil and consistency of the soil. The preferred land for cultivation is the black loam mixed with some sand, (*ʔihk'al hiʔiletik lum*). The better, quicker growing corn seed is planted here. These very productive soils are called "hot" [822] [843] [842] lands (*k'ixin lum*). (Heat is associated with fertility in both lands and people: a pregnant woman and her husband are considered to be in a state of heat, and the contrast state of being cold is attributed to someone who is sterile.) The red (*tzab'alum*) yellow (*k'analum*), and white soils (*sak lum*) are poorer soils and the slower seed is planted here. These soils are considered "cold" (*sik*) and are thought to be "tired."

The loss of soil productivity is attributed either to the loss of the soul of [774] the crop or to the fact that the soil gets "tired." Farmers have noticed that in the first five years of planting in Tulanca, the ejido land grant, the soil was "hot" and gave good crops. When this productivity was lost, people said the soul of the crop left. It is considered dangerous to start crops in the lower lands of hot country because when the location of crops is changed, the soul leaves its original residence. The notion of crop soul loss does not conflict with the awareness of natural causes of soil productivity. Fields are left fallow for four or five years when productivity diminishes and the soil is "tired." The irrigated lands are in continuous use because there is some replenishment of fertility with the overflow of the ditch waters. Cattle fertilizers are used sporadically. Those who have many head of [233] cattle construct corrals into which they herd the cattle each night. The location of the corral is changed yearly. Corn and beans are then planted in [598] the old corral with superior results. The dozen or so corrals in the town [496] are owned and worked cooperatively by extended families and are referred [551] to by the Indian patronyms—for example, *skoral Linetik* (corral of the Lins) or *skoral Čailetik* (corral of the Čailes). The one attempt to use [177] commercial fertilizers provided by the Ejido Bank proved a technical success but an administrative failure (chapter 3). Indians noted the increased yields, but none have attempted to purchase fertilizers.

Soil consistency is evaluated on the basis of how easy it is to work. Wet, sticky, or clayey soil (*šučilium*) and stony soil (*kešilum*) are least desirable. Sandy soil is easier to work, but soil productivity depends on a loam

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base, so the farmers prefer to plant the better, quicker-growing corn seed in a mixed sand and loam soil.

The final evaluation of land is based on results at harvest. The range of variation is large: from 48 liters of yield per liter of seed to 80 litters of yield per liter of seed. Township officials say that the average harvest is five *fanegas* (1 fanega equals 12 liters) or 60 liters per liter of seed. Market prices are of less importance in deciding what crops will be planted than are considerations of what the soil "wants" and what labor is involved. Corn is grown on all kinds of land, whereas beans and special crops such as cabbages can be grown only on the more fertile soil. Wheat can be grown only where there is irrigation. One farmer raised cabbage in cooperation with a Ladino and earned 1,000 pesos, four times the amount he earned with his wheat crop the previous year. Despite the greater return for cabbage, the farmer did not plant it the next year when the Ladino, who had supported the first venture, withdrew his support. The reason he gave for this was the fact that there was more work involved and he could not accomplish it alone: first the crop had to be planted, then transplanted, then irrigated every three days in the early growing period, and cultivated two or three times; every eight days he had to get rid of worms. He estimated that growing cabbage involved well over four times the amount of work necessary for growing corn.

Labor. Most agricultural work is performed by members of households with exchange or hired labor. There is no specialization of labor when the work force includes two or more men since the men cooperate in doing each task. Communal labor is restricted to the maintenance of the main irrigation ditches. Each year the ditches are dug out where the sides have eroded and cleaned of brush and leaves. The president and judges unite to decide on a time for this work and announce it on a loudspeaker of one of the cantinas. This usually occurs around the twenty-fifth of December. Formerly, all the men of the community helped in this work whether or not they owned irrigated fields. In 1958 those who did not own such land "got smart" and refused to work.

In 1962 the civil officials decided that a cement canal should be installed near the source of the spring. They tried to finance it with contributions

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Wheat. In selecting the seed, the farmers choose those heads with the most kernels—there may be from thirty to eighty on each head. The same kind of seed must be used in planting each plot of land or the soil "does not give well." A new wheat seed was introduced by an American agronomist in the 1950s. The following reaction by an informant reveals why most of the farmers decided not to use it:

There is a quick-growing wheat, called foreign wheat because a foreigner brought it and planted it in the soil. Those who wanted to try it were given some. It was difficult to harvest because it was very dry and broke easily. Most of the grain was left behind on the ground. When it got to the threshing floor, most of it was broken. Therefore the town did not want it. So we continue planting the common wheat and it doesn't break.

The inefficient harvesting techniques force the people to consider loss of grains in deciding what wheat they will seed. However, a few of the farmers continue to grow the new wheat.

The scheduling of wheat production is shown in Table 8. The *arada* plow, introduced by the Spaniards (Foster 1951) and made locally by farmers for their own use, is commonly used to prepare the land. A few farmers borrow the plow of a relative, or sometimes a metal plowshare is bought in the departmental capital.

The harvest is the most arduous work in wheat production, but because it is done with the assistance of four or five helpers, usually brothers or compadres, it is a gay occasion. There are about a dozen threshing shelters which are individually owned and rented for 5 pesos a day. At the height of the harvesting season, the farmers have to wait for their turn to use the shelter. After the threshing, a fiesta is held in the house of the owner of the wheat at which liquor and a meal of beef stew is served. Since the labor involved is based on exchange rather than payment, the owner will take part in the harvest and celebration of those whom he has helped.

Beans. The choice of locale and the time of planting vary more radically for beans than for other crops because of the greater differences in type of seed. The two major types of beans are (1) ground beans, of

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323 pyramid is complete, wood is laid against the pots in a tepee formation.
[313] When the sawmill in the vicinity was in operation, flat boards—scraps of
[372] cut lengths—were used, but now only logs are available. Corn husks or
[462] dry straw are stuffed between the planks or logs. When a large number of pots are being fired, the men usually help at the final stages to remove the
[476] charred planks with poles. If men are not available, the women of the
[292] household often call upon their neighbors for help. In this operation, the women wear sandals and hats for protection from the heat. When the pots are cooled, the women, sometimes with the help of the men, stack them in net bags, six to a net with straw protecting the pots.

647 About fifteen year ago, a kiln was introduced by the government in the
177 interest of conserving wood. Those who tried it claim that the pottery did
323 not fire well and that many of the pots were broken. I.N.I. (the Instituto
372 Nacional Indigenista) planned to introduce an improved kiln, and while most of the people we questioned expressed a willingness to try it, the proposal was never put into action.

462 The men do most of the marketing of pottery. Loads of one or two
442 dozen may be taken by bus or truck to San Cristóbal or to Comitán.
443 When there is large-scale production throughout the community, as occurs
494 just before major fiestas, truckers come from the neighboring town of Teopisca to contract for delivery.

592 The amount of pottery produced in households varies with the follow-
323 ing factors:
433

1. Household composition: (a) Number of women in the family.
[464] If there is only one woman, very little or no pottery is produced because of the demands of domestic duties. Households with two or more women are able to sustain the ideal output of at least a dozen water jugs a week (I use "ideal" here to suggest their notion of what they produce when asked to guess. As Fig. 2 indicates, this varies considerably during the
[887] year.) (b) Age of women and ages of children. Older women over sixty do not independently undertake pottery production. They may assist in washing pots with corn gruel or making the neck, mouth, and handles, but they are unable to endure the harder task of collecting clay. A woman with infants under two years of age makes little pottery if

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465 working long hours. Thus they receive 12 pesos for about one and a half times as many hours as is worked locally for the prevailing wage of 6 pesos (ten hours in comparison with the usual day's work of six to seven hours in the town). For this reason they maximize the effort expended in getting to fields outside of their own township. The lower payment in [476] town entails an obligation on the owner's part to reciprocate the labor, but the payment relieves him of an immediate demand on his time. Exchange 476 labor without payment requires reciprocity within the same activity schedule: thus if a man assists someone else during harvesting, he expects that person to assist him during the same harvest period. If, however, he will [465] be unable to reciprocate immediately, the payment of 6 pesos terminates an immediate obligation, but he will be expected to respond when he can if other requests should be made by this same farmer. Exchange labor without payment is contracted between relatives, compadres, and neighbors, using the network of established social ties to reinforce the obligation to reciprocate.

464 Agricultural work in the fincas in hot country is undertaken only when [434] there is extreme need for supplementary income, or when a man is escap- [754] ing the threat of being killed as a witch. In the 1920s, when the Indians had limited land resources and prevailing wages were low, some were forced to go to the fincas of the Argentino and Aregovia near Tapachula. [626] Despite the economic necessity for their undertaking this work, the social pressure was so strong against it that they would leave early in the morning to avoid being jeered as they passed in the street. The women rarely [462] accompanied them because they could produce pottery at home and supplement earnings. The prevailing rate now is 15 to 18 pesos per tarea, a [465] half-day's work, but Indians work in the finca only when urgently pressed.

Nonagricultural labor in the sawmills is a source of employment for twenty-two Indians of the town. Lumber companies operating in the forested areas of Montebello Lake have employed Indians of the town for [465] the past year. The wage offered, from 15 to 18 pesos a day, exceeds the 12-peso wage paid to agricultural laborers in the immediate area, but corresponds to that paid in hot country. The men must live at the sawmill, and supplies of tortillas made by their families are brought in on Wednesdays

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602 Kinship is one of several bases for recruiting reciprocal or cooperative
476 labor. Table 19 compares kinship with nonkinship-defined work groups
626 in terms of the kinds of exchanges, the type of work done, the time span permitted for reciprocity, and the sanctions against failure to reciprocate.

TABLE 19. Labor Exchanges of Kinship- and Nonkinship-Defined Groups

Conditions	*Within household*	*Beyond household, within community*	
		With kin (ritual, compadre, affinal and consanguineal)	*With nonkin*
Interchange	"Cooperation"—reciprocity based on implicit understandings	Reciprocity—explicit, defined by traditional expectations	Reciprocity—explicit, often defined by contract as well as tradition
Sanctions	Authority of elder member, male in men's work group, female in women's work group	Authority of elders of bilaterally-extended kin group; Recourse to cabildo if no strong elder	Informal—fear of gossip of neighbors; formal—reliance on local judges and president or recourse to district courts
Time Span	Extended, indefinite	Extended, usually some defined limit on repeated tasks (harvest); no limit for non-repeated tasks (housebuilding)	Immediate return expected, or explicitly stated time allowance
Kind of Task	Pottery-making, milpa agriculture, care of cattle, preparation of food	Ploughing, cultivating, harvesting, firing pottery, housebuilding	Same.

593 Fathers and sons, or sons-in-laws may work together on family-owned
476 property. Because all men can acquire ejido land after marriage, and since
423 47 percent of the households claim to have only this land, the cooperative
621 tie between fathers and sons is not based on inheritance. If they work well
[606] together, they may continue to cooperate after the son has become independent. Father and sons, brothers and brothers-in-law are expected to
476 cooperate with each other in building a house, rethatching a roof, and
342 threshing wheat. In the case of house-building or maintenance, they must
607 pay for a substitute if they are unable to fulfill the obligation.
593
241

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Compadres, or ritual kin, are the next most important pool from which to draw assistance. The same restrictions on exchanges between actual kin apply to those between ritual kin. The one task which is confined to brothers and not extended to compadres is that of house-building.

Relationships between members of the household are defined by daily work tasks, commensality, sharing a living space, and participation in the same ceremonial events. The same rules which govern behavior in the family are extended to the wider community. The extension of the terms elder brother and elder sister, father and mother, and younger sibling to all of the people in one's own side of the dual division implies a pattern of behavior similar to that of the family. The fundamental equation in social relations is age-respect-deference-prestige.

The bilaterally extended kinship group provides the pattern structuring relations throughout the community. It is a framework allowing wide choice in selecting individuals with whom ceremonial and work relations are contracted. Relative age has superseded generation and descent as the principle governing relationships of authority and respect from the nuclear family to the hierarchy or community officials. These patterns will be traced in other institutions in following chapters.

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787 claim, has been lost, as has been more recently that of speaking with the ancestors. But the curers can still enter into communication with the spirit world and in this lies their power.

461 Industry is valued along with competency. A man is described as indus-
183 trious with the words, "he carries much wood well," and a woman with the words, "she carries much sand well." These expressions are a kind of
[196] synechdoche for general industriousness, since the tasks serve as the measure of willingness to perform one's sexually defined roles.

[476] Judgments made in the choice of working "partners" in the exchange
[602] labor system are based on competence in working as well as on considera-
[608] tions of kin and compadrazgo relationship. Women make judgments of
[323] others' skill in pottery-making on the basis of both the appearance of the pot and its durability proved in use and transportation without breakage to market. Both men and women known to be hard workers are admired
[154] and envied. They may consequently become the objects of witchcraft.

828 Conceptions of personality are one end product of evaluations of per-
157 formances and condition people's expectations of individuals in their social environment. For the Indians, personality traits tend to imply other traits.
125 In order to derive a sense of these implications for Tzo?ontahal, I drew up
157 a checklist to identify some of these associations. Informants were asked to
828 state whether each of the traits listed on the top line in Table 30 was correlated positively, negatively, or not at all with each of the same traits listed vertically. A plus (+) sign indicates positive correlation, a minus (—) sign indicates negative correlation, and an equal (=) sign indicates that
157 there was no correlation. Thus being bright is positively correlated with
828 being beautiful and negatively correlated with being evil, fearful, lazy, foolish, gullible, braggardly, gossipy, and miserly. There is no connection between being bright and being of good heart, aggressive, or honorable. This suggests that the heart and the mind are independent loci for a set of traits that stem from them. Metaphors such as bitter, acid, and straight, when used to describe personality, are similar in connotation to those used in English. As in English, immediate sensory experiences of taste and vision provide by extension a means of talking about character.

157 In studying these personality traits, I sensed that "being" was "doing"
551 things in certain repetitive ways. This impression is corroborated by the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 286]

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The behavior described for each institution in earlier chapters will be summarized as a mode of adjustment or adaptation in relation to the beliefs that give it meaning and purpose.

Economic Activities

Learning agricultural tasks and pottery-making in the household is part of adjusting to membership in the community. Parents are responsible for teaching the value of industriousness and are held accountable throughout the life of the child. Agricultural tasks are scheduled in a yearly cycle that provides sufficient flexibility for a man to carry out community and familial ceremonial responsibilities. In milpa agriculture, there is no specialization of tasks. Small-plot agricultural production with a simple technology has been reinforced by the land reform program. Since the lands incorporated under the Ejido Commission in the 1930s were attached to the community, agriculturalists were not forced to adjust to new ecological conditions. Politicalization was minimal since the local commission operated within the old civil hierarchy. In the recent expansion of ejido colonies in hot country, Indians from the community have developed alliances with non-Indians in asserting claims to the land. Without any preexisting civil hierarchy, these ejidatarios have not had to adjust their activities to a given structure of authority, but have developed independent political organizations as an adaptation to their new environment.

Women's work in pottery is less subject to changes in techniques and organization than is men's. The schema of production in simple tasks in a fixed sequence makes it easier to teach girls each process and reinforces a given pottery tradition. My guess would be that if wheel production were introduced, it would liberate the creativity of each potter by freeing her of established routines.

Pottery production is not surrounded, as is agricultural production, by ceremonials. There is no god to whom one lights candles or gives offerings to ensure success, although there are hazards in production, particularly at the time of firing. Agricultural productivity, on the other hand, is thought to depend on the proper relation between the spirits of the heaven and of the church with the spirits of crops.

In the new economic activities, the Indians have shown both adjustive

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and adaptive responses. With the expansion of cattle raising, Indians have organized associations adjusted to the traditional dual division. The association for each side of the dual division mobilizes labor for maintaining the watering holes. The failure to organize communal corrals means that inefficient herding techniques, damage to the milpa, and frequent loss or theft of cattle persist. The association reacts to the last problem by hiring killers to get rid of those suspected of theft, but this adaptive response is limited to dealing with particular incidents and has not solved the problem.

The manufacturers of contraband liquor have succeeded in organizing a syndicate strong enough to maintain a monopoly price for both the internal and external markets and to provide security for themselves against federal agents. The syndicate mobilizes for specific actions, such as raising the bail bond for imprisoned members or punishing informers. As a community-wide organization ignoring the dual division and age-ranked seniority, it represents an adaptation in response to extra-community pressures.

The cooperatives that have been organized to manage the local store and the trucks provide permanent managerial operations that are an adaptation to growing interaction in extra-community economic activities. Cooperative owners are able to raise the capital to maintain and expand these operations. It is within these structures that entrepreneurial skills are being developed. The organizers gain the advantage not only of socializing the risk of loss but also of making a profit in a community where belief in witchcraft, fostered by envy, is rampant.

Activities in the new economic enterprises are not supported by any supernatural belief. In order to gain acceptance for the new enterprises, the entrepreneur Santos, who had organized the trucking cooperative, recognized the need for an ideology. His rhetoric drew upon the sense of deprivation Indians feel in their relations with Ladinos. He justified his own ends as an attempt to gain for all the community the profits that only Ladinos had been able to gain through trucking and crops resales in the regional markets. The ideology he had begun to formulate stressed economic and political independence from both the Ladino entrepreneurs of neighboring towns and government agents who tried to promote welfare

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571
[426] [155] [476] [431] [608]

getting involved in the fight. He can help relatives in distress pay a debt or give a curing ceremony for a sick child. He can be a "hard worker, ready to offer a hand to a neighbor in need of extra labor" (hel-K'abal). He can send his wife with small presents of food to other households. He can make many compadres among those whom he suspects of possibly being against him, thereby assuring their friendship and respect. In sum, he can create around himself a long chain of loyal villagers who are bound to him by many different obligations. Then, because he is a 'leKil winiK' (one that behaves well with the people), he can "afford" to become rich by local standards without the immediate fear of punishment.

Every household head manipulates his environment in these terms. People try to accumulate riches and protect their paths in other ways. They also try to avoid distributing their accumulated wealth outside their household and to prevent the envy or gossip of those not so bound by loyalty, by hiding from others the knowledge of their possessions.

The result of the contradiction between the egalitarian values on the one hand, and the individual aspirations and behavior on the other, is expressed in gossip, "witchcraft talk" and a constant realignment of loyalties among villagers. Every man suspects another of being better off than one is led to believe, while at the same time he himself tries to keep others from suspecting him, and would not voluntarily give information on how many horses he owns or how much corn he has grown.

The picture of life in Amatenango and Aguacatenango is

621 578 582 them to "overlook" the trespasser, but not many young men are willing to risk the ire of the other barrio bachelors, nor the gossip and sanctions applied to them by their own barrio mates.[1]

62 794 Each barrio plays a role in the political and religious organization of the village by sending an approximately equal number of officers to the Ayuntamiento and the Mayordomías. Although in some years there are more delegates from one barrio, they attempt to correct the imbalance in the succeeding years. [623] The Principales (council of elders) have also equal representation.

62 [573] [575] [312] Escuadrilla groups (adolescent boys' gangs) and unmarried women's Church groups are formed among barrio mates. Women, with few exceptions, used the water wells or pipe lines in their barrio of residence (the exceptions include women who originally came from the other barrio) and who do their washing at places in [406] the river on their barrio side. Men who work together at such tasks as buying and butchering a cow, building a path or clearing an irrigation ditch belong to the same barrio. House parties [527] [123] organized to buy candles for the Church before a special Saint's day are barrio affairs, and no resident of the other barrio (with [575] the exception of the anthropologist) is invited. In the past, there were, in Aguacatenango, religious sororities sponsored by the Catholic Church, and each barrio had a separate one. There

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[581] [527] [1]A man that has married once is considered to have had his share of the available women of the barrio. Second marriages, especially with girls who have never married before, are not well thought of. It is common, then, that second marriages occur across barrio lines. A man finds it easier to cope with the antagonism of the other barrio men (who are expected, in any case, to be antagonistic) than with the bachelors and neighbors in his own barrio, where he has to face the antagonism in every day interaction.

592 593 but it is always built around a core of agnatically related men: a father and his sons, united in their common interest in the patrimonial land and the fruits of their joint cooperative labor. To this core of men are attached their children and their wives, all of whom are dependent on them for their food supply, shelter, and the satisfaction of most other needs.

621 591 592 602 When a couple moves outside the parental home, the house site that they are given should be contiguous if possible, or as close as there is a place available, to the husband's father's homestead. Thus, ideally, the town should be settled by clusters of domestic groups forming localized agnatic lines, each containing a man, his parents, his brothers and his married male sons. At the same time, one would find out that women, because they follow their husbands, live much further apart from their agnatic relatives than men do.

593 591 476 241 417 After a man moves from his father's household, he is not expected to work the same parcels with his father, but they do share some work in common. Usually (I don't have the exact number of cases, but enough information to suggest that this is the mode), a man and his sons have contiguous milpas that are fenced together. The fences, which are laboriously built and repaired, are the communal job of all the men, and save them the time and effort of building interior separations between the plots, because the purpose of fencing is to keep cattle from invading the parcels and without fences it is useless to risk planting.

423 241 417 This does not mean that the land is held jointly. Each man

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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423 241 417 knows his own parcel and its boundaries, which are sometimes marked with a few stones or a less elaborate fence of a few poles.

241 476 The men that fence the land together cooperate with each other in some other agricultural tasks which require more than two hands (e.g., clearing and burning before planting, cleaning irrigation ditches).

183 591 Stating the norms of residence in anthropological language, we can say that the generalized residence pattern, if it reflects the practice of the norms, should be patrilocal for single and married men, patrilocal for single women, virilocal for married women and parentilocal for children (see Fig. 13, Fischer's Typology).

The Residence Patterns

125 To find out how the ideal rules are carried into practice, we analyzed a sample of sixty-eight households containing an average of five people per unit, and a total of 384 individuals. This sample was gathered by the author in the field, in 1958, and covers half of the village in a chess board pattern of blocks (see charts). The data on the sample is complemented by a previous total census of the village, prepared by the Metzgers and the school teacher in 1956, which covered the whole population of the community, but contained less detailed information on some aspects of residence. Both will be augmented by a sample of life histories contained in the field notes.

128 The data will be presented in tables, and in the text, both in number of cases and in relative percentages. When possible,

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578 histories collected during the field work season, and it well
[621] could be that a case was missed). Second, if he wants to obtain
[423] help from other men, they risk antagonizing, with their willing-
[476] ness to cooperate, the head of the household in which the young man is residing, and they also risk the concommitant sanctions.

423 The young man could also obtain land without his father's
425 help by leaving the community to work for wages and saving enough
464 money to buy land. Although the selling of parcels is not a
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[593] common practice in Aguacatenango, the idea of land being a commodity that can be bought and sold has been introduced, and some few household heads, in cases of emergency, are willing to sell. Of course, leaving the community to work for wages means voluntary exile for a man and alienation from relatives, friends and the cultural milieu. Also, men insist that it is profitable to work for wages only if one does it for short periods of time and keeps milpa simultaneously. Wage work alone is not enough to buy corn and the other necessities to meet the requirements of the customary standard of living.

593 On the other hand, a man breaking away from his home and
62 refusing to accept his father's authority becomes a deviant, and
156 antagonizes not only his family, but the community.

593 Although it is possible, theoretically, to become eco-
592 nomically independent of one's father against his will, in fact
156 a man can only set up his own household in compliance with the ethical principles and moral conventions of his culture. Therefore, he is only permitted to form his own domestic group when he has demonstrated that he has reached the stage of social maturity which allows him to do so.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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[602] The patrilines function in several dimensions. Work groups, although invariably containing some bilateral and affinal relatives, recruit members mainly among agnatic kinsmen. Men fence their fields with the help of their brothers, father and sons; when villagers get together to buy a cow for a town fiesta celebration, each cow is bought by a group which contains agnatically related men. In one case, seventeen men who bought a cow together belonged to four patrilines which were neighbors among themselves. In another case, in which several men got together to build a house, nine were agnatic kinsmen, three were affinals (the son's wife's brother, the daughter's husband and the wife's brother), three were compadres and one a neighbor from across the street. The women who prepared the meal for the housewarming were: nine agnatically related to the household head; two agnatically related to the wife of the household head; three affinals of the household head; two affinals of the wife; and two neighbors. In another case, a man and his two sons, one of whom was living in a separate domestic group, helped in the construction, and several other men were contracted to help with the payment, although the daughter's husband, who was a carpenter, was called in to give advice and help.

613 476 626 627 Individuals, in time of trouble, seek advice from the elders of the patriline, which is the largest unit in which kinship solidarity functions as a controlling social force outside the domestic group. The patriline also exercises control in the form of moral pressure: gossip, accusations of witchcraft, and responsibility for vengeance when a patriline member has been

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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613 476 murdered. Informants declare that "all the Mendeztik will get 626 together against the Perezetik if a Perez kills a Mendez." We have 627 witnessed cases of "talk of revenge," but never any case of the lineal solidarity functioning in this way in practice. In a case 613 736 where the father of a man dies, it is within the agnatic line that a man finds a sponsor to live with, to pay his bride-price, and to 613 work the land with. If there is conflict over an adulterous wife, 837 or over the distribution of an inheritance among brothers, it is the 428 duty of the elder members of the agnatic line to give advice, witness the distribution of the property, etc.

613 The patriline is not a land holding unit, in the sense that 423 there is no land that is said to belong to the line as a corporation, but the group of agnatically related men have control over the distribution of it, and its inheritance. If a man dies without adult sons, the closest agnatic kin (father, brother, or in some cases a father's brother if the other two are dead or have enough land) will take over the cultivated fields that he has left. According to the Mexican Agrarian Code, Ejido land can only be transmitted to people that live in the same domestic unit, and communal land cannot be transmitted at all: at the death of the person who held usufruct rights over a parcel, the land should revert to the Ayuntamiento, which has the power to re-distribute it as it considers convenient. In practice, in Aguacatenango, if the household fails to provide heirs, the parcels (both ejido and communal) are re-allocated among agnatic kin. Therefore, although the patriline does not "own" land, some land is allocated through linearity.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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593 [626] A man whose brother is accused of witchcraft is very likely to share the same accusation; if a man beats his wife, he can be blamed by his younger brother because the first one's reputation hinders the chances of the second for getting himself a wife. If a woman is lazy, people will assume that her sister is also lazy, and so on. Paradoxically, at the same time that siblings are equivalent for certain purposes, they are not in relation to each other. An elder sibling has, from early in life, power to scold, punish or control his younger siblings. The older they grow, the more the age difference becomes important. While one could be already working with the father in the fields, the other is still a playing child. While one gets married and becomes a man, the other is still under his father's authority.

The elder brother is always a possible jural replacement [1136] for the father. If the father dies and a man is a bachelor with a married brother, his elder brother replaces the father in terms of jural authority over him, is in charge of supporting him, working with him in the field, paying for his bride-price, etc.

[476] On the one hand, the relationship of brothers is one of [578] collaboration, intense association for work and mutual dependency; on the other, the differential distribution of authority creates a certain amount of antagonism between the two.

593 This antagonism between brothers is symbolically expressed 578 in myths, legends and tales, many of which contain both a younger 538 and elder brother who spend their time trying to kill each other, being alternately successful until the younger sibling is the final victor.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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184 182 428 593 (4) The reciprocal financial obligations between parents and children in Amatenango, and between parents and sons in Aguacatenango, to support each other at different stages of the developmental cycle of their respective domestic groups affect the rule of ultimogeniture.

184 182 582 591 556 (5) The relative wealth of the natal domestic group of the spouse, measured by the amount of land controlled by the unit affects (a) the choice of marriage partner, and (b) the residence of the newly married couple. In Aguacatenango, where residence is normatively patri-virilocal, parents try to marry their daughters within the same economic level of their own households. In Amatenango, marriages occur across wealth lines, and the couple reside with the parents of the spouse who are better off.

184 182 462 593 [606] (6) The relative importance of men versus female cooperative work groups, and/or the difference in structuring of work groups affects (a) the sibling bond; (b) the mother-daughter bond; and (c) the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond.

In Aguacatenango, where only men form cooperative work groups, the brother-brother bond is stronger than the sister-sister bond or the brother-sister bond.

In Amatenango, where both males and females form cooperative [607] work groups, the multilateral sibling bond is reinforced to the point of including siblings-in-law.

184 593 578 591 [613] In Aguacatenango, economic rivalry between siblings tends to disrupt the brother bond with constant conflict. Thus, relationships are more vertically oriented which is consistent with the presence of agnatic descent lines (in Amatenango, generational

184 593 578 591 613 solidarity is stronger than cross-generational solidarity), but generational conflict tends to disrupt the collateral extension of patriline growth, making every patriline segment a shallow descent group containing few generations in depth, and only few collaterals.

184 361 592 496 (7) Territorial propinquity between households in each village follows the social propinquity established in terms of economic reciprocity and work interaction. Thus, in Amatenango residence for individuals, interaction between households and the settlement of a neighborhood follow a bilateral pattern, while in Aguacatenango the three follow the male and agnatic line. The type of economic organization, based on the domestic group, correlates with the type of domestic group formed thereof.

184 59 428 562 The domestic group in Aguacatenango, with an internal economy based on the cooperative work of father and son and the transmission of property in the male line, is a kinship unit built around a core of agnatically related males with patri-virilocal residence. Among the Aguacatecos, at least one son of the nuclear family remains in the parents' household after marriage. All other children marry and move out, the sons staying close to the father. In this way, the family continues through time, from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of agnatic order, which extends itself in space as a patrilocally localized agnatic line, and perpetuates itself, in time, through the principle of agnatic ultimogeniture.

The domestic group in Amatenango, with an internal economy based on the cooperative work of both a father and son, a mother